

HART-TEETER  
1724 Connecticut Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20009  
(202) 234-5570

Interviews: 1019 respondents  
Dates: October 19-21, 1990

48 Male  
52 Female  
**[5]**

FINAL

Study #4011  
NBC News/WSJ  
October 1990

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<b>[6]</b>	<b>[8]</b>	<b>[9]</b>	<b>[12]</b>	<b>[13]</b>		
<b>[7]</b>		<b>[10]</b>		<b>[14]</b>		
<b>1</b>		<b>1</b>		<b>1</b>		

Hello, my name is \_\_\_\_\_ and I'm calling from Hart-Teeter for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Of the people living in your household who are at least 18 years old, including those who are not home right now, can you tell me who had the most recent birthday? (IF PERSON DOESN'T KNOW ALL THE BIRTHDAYS, SAY:) Well, of the ones you do know, who had the last birthday? May I speak to that person please? (IF PERSON WITH MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY IS NOT HOME, FIND OUT WHEN HE/SHE WILL RETURN AND MAKE AN APPOINTMENT TO CALL BACK.)

(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS THE ONE WITH THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY, SAY:) Here is my first question. (PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1--DO NOT PAUSE.)

(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS NOT THE ONE TO HAVE THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY, ASK TO SPEAK TO THE PERSON WHO DID. AFTER RESPONDENT COMES TO THE PHONE, SAY:)

Hello, my name is \_\_\_\_\_ and I'm calling from Hart-Teeter for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Are you at least 18 years old and the person with the most recent birthday of all the adults living in this household? (IF "YES," SAY:) Here is my first question. (PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1--DO NOT PAUSE.)

1. Are you currently registered to vote in the precinct or election district where you now live, or haven't you had a chance to register yet?

Yes, registered.....	10	<b>CONTINUE</b>	<b>[15]</b>
	0		
No, not registered.....	-	<b>TERMINATE AND</b>	
		<b>DO NOT COUNT</b>	
Not sure.....	-		

- 2a. All in all, do you think things in the nation are generally headed in the right direction, or do you feel that things are off on the wrong track?

		9/90	7/90	5/90	4/90	3/90	1/90	11/89	9/89	
Right direction	22	45	40	42	47	44	49	41	42	<b>[16]</b>
Wrong track	59	40	37	38	32	31	29	35	34	<b>1</b>
Mixed (VOL)	14	10	18	16	13	20	17	19	19	
Not sure	5	5	5	4	8	5	5	5	5	

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2b. Do you feel very confident, only fairly confident, or not at all confident that life for our children will be better than it has been for us?

		ROPER 11/83 All Adults	
Very confident.....	1	24	<b>[17]</b>
	4		
Only fairly confident.....	3	38	
	6		
Not at all confident.....	4	33	
	5		
Not sure . . . . .	5	5	

**[18] [19]**

3. I'm going to read you the names of several groups and people who are active in politics. I'd like you to rate your feelings toward each one as either very positive, somewhat positive, neutral, somewhat negative, or very negative. If you don't know the name, please just say so. (READ EACH NAME AND REPEAT CHOICES. START FROM THE BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)

	<u>Very Positive</u>	<u>Somewha t Positive</u>	<u>Neu- tral</u>	<u>Somewha t Negative</u>	<u>Very Negativ e</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/ Not Sure</u>	
<b>George Bush.....</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>[20]</b>
July 1990	26	42	16	10	5	1	
May 1990	28	40	15	11	5	1	
March 1990	32	37	15	10	5	1	
December 1989	28	33	21	11	5	2	
November 1989	24	38	17	11	8	2	
<b>Thomas Foley.....</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>[21]</b>
November 1989	3	12	16	4	2	63	
<b>Newt Gingrich.....</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>[22]</b>
<b>Jesse Jackson.....</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>[23]</b>
March 1990	15	28	24	14	15	4	
November 1989	15	30	23	16	13	3	
<b>The Republican Party.....</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>[24]</b>
<b>The Democratic Party.....</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>[25]</b>
<b>Mario Cuomo.....</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>[26]</b>
<b>John Sununu.....</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>[27]</b>
<b>Dan Quayle.....</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>[28]</b>
July 1990	6	22	33	16	14	9	
May 1990	7	22	29	18	19	5	
March 1990	7	21	28	17	19	8	
November 1989	7	22	26	17	21	7	

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<b>George Mitchell.....</b>	<b>3</b>	13	13	22	<b>7</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>[29]</b>
November 1989	3	11	18	6	4	58		
<b>Ronald Reagan.....</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>[30]</b>	
March 1990	21	26	16	14	22	1		
November 1989	19	28	17	13	21	2		

4a. Do you approve or disapprove of the job Congress is doing?

Approve.....	2	<b>[31]</b>
	2	
Disapprove.....	6	
	9	
Not sure.....	9	

4b. And how would you rate the congressman or woman from your district--do you approve or disapprove of the job your representative is doing?

Approve.....	5	<u>11/89</u>	<b>[32]</b>
	7	68	
Disapprove.....	3	16	
	0		
Not sure.....	1	16	
	3		

5a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job George Bush is doing as president?

		<u>9/90</u>	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>4/9</u>	<u>3/9</u>	<u>1/9</u>	<u>11/8</u>	<u>9/89</u>	
Approve...	59	75	67	72	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>9</u>	67	<b>[33]</b>
Disapprove...	32	15	22	21	75	69	71	67	17	
					15	19	19	22		
Not sure.	9	10	11	7	10	12	10	11	16	

5b. Do you generally approve or disapprove of the job George Bush is doing in handling the economy?

		<u>9/90</u>	<u>7/9</u>	<u>5/9</u>	<u>4/9</u>	<u>3/9</u>	<u>1/9</u>	<u>11/8</u>	<u>9/8</u>	
Approve.....	35	52	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>9</u>	<b>[34]</b>
Disapprove	55	36	48	51	59	53	54	52	61	
			41	40	30	35	31	33	24	
Not sure...	10	12	11	9	11	12	15	15	15	

5c. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job George Bush is doing in handling our foreign policy?

		<u>9/90</u>	<u>7/9</u>	<u>5/9</u>	<u>4/9</u>	<u>3/9</u>	<u>1/9</u>	<u>11/8</u>	<u>9/8</u>	
Approve.....	63	75	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>9</u>	<b>[35]</b>
Disapprove	30	17	67	67	70	67	69	59	58	
			22	25	22	22	21	27	26	
Not sure...	7	8	11	8	8	11	10	14	16	

**[36] [37]**6a. Over the past year, do you think the national economy has gotten better, gotten worse, or stayed about the same?

		<u>9/90</u>	<u>7/9</u>	<u>5/9</u>	<u>4/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/9</u>	<u>11/89</u>	<u>9/8</u>	
Better.....	3	6	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	12	13	<u>0</u>	15	<u>9</u>	<b>[38]</b>
			11	11	12	13	12	15	18	
Worse.....	72	57	37	36	30	37	29	34	23	
About the same..	24	35	51	52	56	48	57	49	57	
Not sure.....	1	2	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	

6b. During the next year, do you think the national economy will get better, get worse, or stay about the same?

		<u>9/90</u>	<u>7/9</u>	<u>5/9</u>	<u>4/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/9</u>	<u>11/89</u>	<u>9/8</u>	
Better.....	13	16	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	24	21	<u>0</u>	21	<u>9</u>	<b>[39]</b>
			20	22	24	21	22	21	25	
Worse.....	52	49	33	32	29	30	28	33	23	
About the same....	30	26	40	41	42	44	44	39	43	
Not sure.....	5	9	7	5	5	5	6	7	9	

7. Do you think there will or will not be an economic recession during the next twelve months?

		<u>9/15-</u> <u>18/90</u>	<u>9/4-</u> <u>5/90</u>	<u>8/9</u> <u>0</u>	<u>7/9</u> <u>0</u>	<u>5/9</u> <u>0</u>	<u>4/9</u> <u>0</u>	<u>3/9</u> <u>0</u>	<u>1/9</u> <u>0</u>	
Will be an economic recession...	66	51	58	57	25	30	23	30	31	<b>[40]</b>
Will not be an economic recession.....	24	35	30	26	49	57	64	56	56	
Not sure.....	10	14	12	17	26	13	13	14	13	

- 8a. I'd like to read you a list of economic issues. As of right now, which one do you feel is the most important issue facing the country? (READ LIST SLOWLY. START FROM BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW. ACCEPT ONLY ONE ANSWER AND RECORD BELOW UNDER Q.8a.)

			<u>9/90</u>	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/90</u>	<u>9/89</u>
Inflation.....	13	<b>[41]</b>	13	8	9	13	12	12
Unemployment.....	16		22	21	22	20	23	23
Interest rates.....	2		3	4	5	5	4	4
The federal budget deficit.....	43		34	37	35	30	29	32
Federal taxes.....	10		5	9	9	7	7	8
The U.S. trade deficit.....	9		14	14	14	17	18	15
All equally important (VOL).....	6	<b>SKI P TO Q.9 a.</b>	6	6	4	6	5	4
None is important (VOL).....	-		1	-	1	1	-	-
Not sure.....	1		2	1	1	1	2	2

- 8b. And which of these is the second most important? (READ REMAINING CHOICES AND RECORD ABOVE UNDER Q.8b.)

			<u>9/90</u>	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/90</u>	<u>9/89</u>
Inflation.....	18	<b>[42 1]</b>	17	16	17	17	16	14
Unemployment.....	16		17	15	13	18	16	15
Interest rates.....	6		8	8	7	7	7	7
The federal budget deficit.....	15		15	17	16	18	20	19
Federal taxes.....	16		10	16	14	12	11	13
The U.S. trade deficit.....	21		21	20	25	17	20	22
None is important (VOL).....	1		-	1	2	3	3	4
Not sure.....	-		3					
No most important issue.....	7		9	7	6	8	7	6

- 9a. Thinking about your personal financial situation in the past three months, have you found it to be a period in which you have been cutting down on purchases and other spending, have you been increasing your purchases and other spending, or has there been little change over the past three months?

		<u>9/90</u>	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/90</u> *	
Cutting down....	55	49	41	41	45	41	<b>[43]</b>
Increasing.....	7	10	14	15	13	16	
Little change.....	38	41	44	43	42	42	
Not sure/refused.....	-	-	1	1	-	1	

**[44] [45]**

- 9b. Thinking about your personal financial situation in the past three months, have you found it to be a period in which you have been cutting down on savings and other investments, have you been increasing your savings and other investments, or has there been little change over the past three months?

		<u>9/90</u>	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/90</u> *	
Cutting down....	28	28	25	24	25	29	<b>[46]</b>
Increasing.....	15	17	21	23	20	23	
Little change.....	55	54	53	52	54	47	
Not	2	1	1	1	1	1	

sure/refused..... |

\* In January 1990, the question was asked about changes "over the past year."

10a. Which do you think is a more serious problem today--government providing special privileges to wealthy people and interests, or government having too many programs and regulations that interfere with people's everyday lives?



Government providing special privileges to wealthy people and interests.....	4	<b>[47]</b>
Government having too many programs and regulations that interfere with people's everyday lives.....	4	
Both equally (VOL).....	2	
Neither (VOL).....	9	
Not sure.....	2	
	3	

10b. Do you think America is in a permanent state of decline, or do you feel that this is not the case?

Permanent state of decline. . . . .	3	<b>[48]</b>
Not in permanent state of decline.....	1	
Not sure . . . . .	6	
	3	
	6	

11a. How much interest do you have in the upcoming elections for U.S. Congress in your district--a great deal, quite a bit, just some, very little, or none at all?

A great deal.....	2	<u>7/90</u>	<b>[49]</b>
	8	23	
Quite a bit.....	2	22	
	4		
Just some.....	2	34	
	9		
Very little.....	1	16	
	4		
None at all.....	4	3	
Not sure.....	1	2	

11b. Looking ahead to the upcoming election for U.S. Congress, do you plan to vote for the Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate in your district?

		<u>9/90</u>	<u>7/9</u>	<u>5/9</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/9</u>	<u>11/8</u>	<u>9/8</u>	
Vote for the Republican candidate.....	31	32	<u>0</u> 33	<u>0</u> 34	25	<u>0</u> 26	<u>9</u> 27	<u>9</u> 29	<b>[50]</b>
Vote for the Democratic candidate.....	40	37	36	33	34	31	32	32	<b>1</b>
Depends (VOL).....	12	14	17	22	29	33	28	24	
Neither (VOL).....	3	1	2	1	2	2	1	1	
Not sure.....	14	16	12	10	10	8	12	14	

(FORM A ONLY)

11c. If you could write a message next to your vote to tell the politicians what you are trying to say, what would that message be?

[51] [52]

11d. Do you think it is important to elect members of Congress who will support President Bush, or is it not important to do so?

Important.....	4	<u>10/86</u>	<b>[53]</b>
	2	54	
Not important.....	5	41	
	0		
Not sure.....	8	5	

12a. Looking ahead to the upcoming election for U.S. Congress, do you feel your representative deserves to be reelected, or do you think it is time to give a new person a chance?

Reelect representative.....	3	<u>11/8</u>	<b>[54]</b>
	9	41	
Give new person a chance.....	4	36	

Not sure.....	8	
	1	23
	3	

12b. How would you rate the overall performance and accomplishments of this year's Congress--one of the best, above average, average, below average, or one of the worst?

One of the best.....	1	Below average.....	32	<b>[55]</b>
Above average.....	7	One of the worse.....	19	
Average.....	3	Not sure.....	2	
	9			

12c. In general, do you feel that your own representative is contributing to the problems in Washington or working to solve these problems?

Contributing to problems.....	2	<b>[56]</b>
	6	
Working to solve problems.....	5	
	7	
Some of both (VOL).....	6	
Neither (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	9	

13a. In general, do you think it is better for the same political party to control both the Congress and the presidency, so they can work together more closely, or do you think it is better to have different political parties controlling the Congress and the presidency, to prevent either one from going too far?

		<u>1/90</u>	<u>9/86</u>	
Better if controlled by <u>same</u> political party.....	2	24	28	<b>[57]</b>
	3			
Better if controlled by <u>different</u> political parties.....	6	63	64	
	7			
Not sure.....	1	13	8	
	0			

13b. Do you think there should or should not be a limit on the number of terms to which a senator or member of Congress can be elected?

		<u>1/90</u>	
Yes, there should be a limit.....	7	67	<b>[58]</b>
	2		
No, there should not be a limit.....	2	28	
	4		
Not sure.....	4	5	

14a. In general, do you feel that the quality of our nation's political leaders is getting worse or getting better?

		<u>7/88</u>	
Getting worse.....	6	68	<b>[59]</b>
	6		
Getting better.....	2	19	
	0		
Not sure.....	1	13	
	4		

14b. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: "It doesn't make much difference how I vote because all politicians are pretty much alike anyway."

Agree.....	2	<b>[60]</b>
	4	
Disagree.....	7	
	5	
Not sure.....	1	

14c. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: "The economic and political systems in this country are stacked against people like me."

		<u>10/23-26/88</u>	<u>10/14-16/88</u>	<u>9/88 *</u>	<u>8/88</u>	
		*	*			
Agree.....	42	43	50	43	51	<b>[61]</b>
						<b>1</b>
Disagree.....	54	48	42	46	39	

Not sure..... 4 | 9 8 11 10

[62] [63]

**Now, let me ask you a few questions about taxes and the federal budget deficit.**

15. Which form of income do you think should be taxed at a higher rate--earned income from salaries and wages, or unearned income from interest, dividends, and investments?

Earned income.....	2	<b>[64]</b>
	2	
Unearned income.....	5	
	9	
Both equally (VOL).....	1	
	0	
Not sure.....	9	

- 16a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job George Bush is doing in handling the problems surrounding the federal budget?

Approve.....	3	<b>[65]</b>
	8	
Disapprove.....	5	
	4	
Not sure.....	8	

- 16b. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Congress is doing in handling the problems surrounding the federal budget?

Approve.....	2	<b>[66]</b>
	1	
Disapprove.....	7	
	1	
Not sure.....	8	

- 16c. When it comes to making decisions on taxes and spending, who do you trust more to be fair to the average person--the Bush Administration or Democrats in Congress?

The Bush Administration.....	3	<b>[67]</b>
	1	
Democrats in Congress.....	4	
	4	
Both (VOL).....	4	
Neither (VOL).....	1	
	3	
Not sure.....	8	

- 16d. Who do you think is more responsible for the problems surrounding the federal budget situation--President Bush, Democrats in Congress, or Republicans in Congress?

President Bush.....	1	<b>[68]</b>
	5	
Democrats in Congress.....	2	
	5	
Republicans in Congress.....	2	
	1	
All equally to blame (VOL).....	2	
	9	
None to blame (VOL).....	3	
Not sure.....	7	

**[69] [70] [71] [72] [73]**

- 17a. Which party do you feel is more responsible for the savings and loan problems facing the country--the Democratic Party or the Republican Party?

		<u>9/90</u>	<u>7/90</u>	
Democratic Party.....	14	21	17	<b>[74]</b>
Republican Party.....	45	36	39	
Both equally (VOL).....	20	17	15	
Neither (VOL).....	4	5	8	
Not sure.....	17	21	21	

17b. Which party do you trust more to determine the best way to handle the savings and loan problem--the Democratic Party or the Republican Party?

		<u>7/9</u>	
		<u>0</u>	
The Democratic Party.....	3	30	<b>[75]</b>
	6		
The Republican Party.....	2	31	
	5		
Both equally (VOL).....	7	6	
Neither (VOL).....	1	17	
	7		
Not sure.....	1	16	
	5		

**[76] [77] [78] [79] [80]**

**Now I'd like to ask you a few questions about the situation in the Middle East.**

18. Do you approve or disapprove of the job George Bush is doing in handling the conflict in the Middle East?

		<u>9/15- 18/90</u>	<u>9/4-5/90</u>	<u>8/90</u>	
Approve.....	69	78	75	72	<b>[81]</b>
Disapprove.....	26	15	18	16	
Not sure.....	5	7	7	12	

- 19a. Do you feel that the economic sanctions against Iraq have or have not made a difference?

Have made a difference..	6	<b>[82]</b>
	7	
Have not made a difference.....	2	
	6	
Not sure.....	7	

- 19b. Do you feel that the United States can or cannot achieve its objectives solely through economic sanctions and the blockade?

		<u>9/90</u>	<u>8/90</u>	
Can achieve its objectives.....	3	45	43	<b>[83]</b>
	8			
Cannot achieve its objectives.....	4	40	37	
	5			
Depends (VOL).....	6	4	7	
Not sure.....	1	10	13	
	1			

- 19c. Which of the following do you think will be the ultimate result of our actions in the Middle East:  
**(READ CHOICES)?**

		<u>9/90</u>	<u>8/90</u>	
A) America will have to withdraw without achieving its objectives.....	9	8	8	<b>[84]</b>
B) America will achieve its objectives without a shooting war.....	3	52	40	
	4			
C) America will end up in a war with Iraq.....	4	36	42	
	8			
Not sure.....	9	4	10	

- 20a. As of right now, which side do you feel has the upper hand in this conflict--the United States or Iraq?

		<u>9/90</u>	<u>8/90</u>	
United States.....	6	68	52	<b>[85]</b>
	5			
Iraq.....	2	22	31	
	1			
Both equal (VOL).....	4	4	6	
Neither (VOL).....	4	2	5	
Not sure.....	6	3	6	

- 20b. The cost of maintaining the U.S. presence in the Persian Gulf is about 1 billion dollars per month. Do you feel it is or is not worth the cost?

Worth the cost.....	5	<b>[86]</b>
	9	
Not worth the cost.....	3	
	2	
Not sure.....	9	

- 20c. If after three months the economic sanctions against Iraq do not work, should the United States use military force to get the Iraqis out of Kuwait, or not?

		<u>9/9</u>	
		<u>0</u>	
Should use military force..	47	56	<b>[87]</b>

			1
Should not use military force.....	42	31	
Not sure.....	11	13	

[88] [89] [90] [91] [92]



**Now, let me ask you a few questions about politics and elections.**

21. How much difference does it make in the lives of you and your family whether the Democratic Party or the Republican Party controls the federal government--a great deal, quite a bit, just some, not much, or none at all?

		<u>11/8</u>	
		<u>9</u>	
A great deal.....	20	24	<b>[93]</b>
Quite a bit.....	19	18	
Just some.....	28	25	
Not much.....	19	16	
None at all.....	12	14	
Not sure.....	2	3	

22. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent, or something else?

(IF "DEMOCRAT" OR "REPUBLICAN," ASK:) Would you call yourself a strong Democrat/Republican or a not very strong Democrat/Republican? (IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "NOT STRONG DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN.")

(IF "INDEPENDENT," ASK:) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party, closer to the Democratic Party, or do you think of yourself as strictly Independent? (IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "STRICTLY INDEPENDENT.")

Strong Democrat.....	1	ASK	<b>[94]</b>
	9	Q.23a,b.	
Not strong Democrat.....	1		
	4		
Independent/lean Democrat.....	9		
Strictly Independent.....	1		
	9		
Independent/lean Republican.....	1	SKIP TO	
	0	Q.24a.	
Not strong Republican.....	1		
	3		
Strong Republican.....	1		
	3		
Other.....	2		
Refused.....	-		
Don't know/nothing.....	1		

- 23a. Let me read you a list of people who might seek the 1992 Democratic nomination for president. (READ LIST.) If the Democratic primary for president were being held today, which candidate would you favor? (IF "NOT SURE," ASK:) Well, which way do you lean? (RECORD BELOW UNDER Q.23a.)

	<u>Q.23a.</u>		<u>Q.23b.</u>	
			<u>Unacceptabl</u>	
			<u>e</u>	
Lloyd Bentsen.....	14	<b>[95]</b>	9	<b>[96]</b>
Mario Cuomo ("QUO-moe").....	21		9	
Richard Gephardt ("GEP-hart").	9		7	
Albert Gore.....	5		5	
Jesse Jackson.....	17		25	
Bob Kerrey ("CARRY").....	2		1	
Sam Nunn.....	6		3	
Doug Wilder.....	2		2	
Someone else (VOL).....	3		14	
None (VOL).....	11		30	

Not sure.....

10

|

12

23b. Is there any candidate on this list you find unacceptable and would not like to see the Democratic Party nominate for president in 1992? (IF "YES," ASK:) Which one or ones? (ACCEPT UP TO THREE ANSWERS. RECORD ABOVE UNDER 23b.)

**[97] [98]**

(ASK EVERYONE.)

24a. If the 1992 presidential election were being held today and the candidates were George Bush, the Republican, and Mario Cuomo, the Democrat, for whom would you vote--Bush or Cuomo ("QUO-moe")?

George Bush.....	5	<b>[99]</b>
	2	
Mario Cuomo.....	3	
	5	
Neither (VOL).....	3	
Not sure.....	1	
	0	

24b. And if the 1992 presidential election were being held today and the candidates were George Bush, the Republican, and Lloyd Bentsen, the Democrat, for whom would you vote--Bush or Bentsen?

George Bush.....	5	<b>[100]</b>
	3	
Lloyd Bentsen.....	3	
	3	
Neither (VOL).....	3	
Not sure.....	1	
	1	

24c. And if the 1992 presidential election were being held today and the candidates were George Bush, the Republican, and Jesse Jackson, the Democrat, for whom would you vote--Bush or Jackson?

George Bush.....	6	<b>[101]</b>
	0	
Jesse Jackson.....	2	
	7	
Neither (VOL).....	4	
Not sure.....	9	

25. Do you feel that the emphasis in the 1990 election campaigns has been mostly positive, mostly negative, or some of both?

Mostly positive.....	8	<b>[102]</b>
Mostly negative.....	2	
	3	
Some of both.....	6	
	5	
Neither (VOL).....	1	
Not sure.....	3	

26. Let me read you four possible outcomes to this year's congressional elections. Please tell me which one you would most like to see happen. (READ CHOICES.)

More Democrats and fewer Republicans in Congress.....	2	<b>[103]</b>
	0	
More Republicans and fewer Democrats in Congress.....	1	
	8	
The number of Democrats and Republicans in Congress staying about the same, and a lot of incumbents winning.....	2	
	2	
The number of Democrats and Republicans in Congress staying about the same, but with a lot of incumbents losing.....	3	
	2	
Not sure.....	8	

**[104] [105]**

27. Now, let me read you some specific issues. When it comes to (READ ITEM), which party do you think would do a better job--the Democratic Party, the Republican Party, both about the same, or neither? (REPEAT FOR EACH ITEM LISTED BELOW. ROTATE ORDER OF ITEMS ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)

	Democrat c Party	Republica n Party	Both	Neith er	Not Sure	
<b>Strengthening our educational system.....</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>[106]</b>
November 1989	30	15	32	15	8	
<b>Dealing with the economy.....</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>[107]</b>
November 1989	26	40	18	10	6	
<b>Dealing with taxes.....</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>[108]</b>
November 1989	29	36	16	12	7	
<b>Dealing with the issue of abortion.....</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>[109]</b>
November 1989	29	21	16	16	18	
<b>Looking out for the wealthy.....</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>[110]</b>
	<b>40</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>[111]</b>
<b>Reducing unemployment.....</b>						
November 1989	36	27	19	9	9	
<b>Reducing the drug problem.....</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>[112]</b>
November 1989	15	21	31	24	9	
<b>Looking out for the poor.....</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>[113]</b>
	<b>51</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>[114]</b>
<b>Helping the elderly.....</b>						
November 1989	51	12	21	9	7	
<b>Reducing the federal deficit.....</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>[115]</b>
November 1989	21	28	17	26	8	
<b>Protecting the environment.....</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>[116]</b>
November 1989	36	15	25	14	10	
<b>Protecting America's interests on trade issues.....</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>[117]</b>
November 1989	20	36	23	9	12	
<b>Helping the middle class.....</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>[118]</b>
November 1989	44	21	16	12	7	
<b>Keeping world peace.....</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>[119]</b>
November 1989	17	31	38	7	7	

28. I'd like to read you a few qualities that a president might have, and I want you to tell me how closely you think each one describes George Bush, using a scale from 1 to 5. On this scale, a rating of "5" means a quality describes him very well and a rating of "1" means it does not describe him well at all. You may use any number between 1 and 5, depending on how strongly you feel.

(MAKE SURE RESPONDENT UNDERSTANDS SCALE. READ EACH ITEM AND RECORD SCORE. IF RESPONDENT CANNOT RATE A QUALITY, RECORD A "6.")

	(5)	(4)	(3)	(2)	(1)	Can't rate	
<b>Effective, knows how to get things done.....</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>[120]</b>
November 1989	14	28	35	13	8	2	
	<b>24</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>[121]</b>
<b>Honest, a person you can trust.....</b>							
November 1989	33	30	17	9	9	2	
	<b>13</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>[122]</b>
<b>Too tight-fisted in funding health and education programs.....</b>							
November 1989	13	18	35	17	12	5	
	<b>30</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>[123]</b>
<b>A strong leader, has the courage of his convictions.....</b>							
November 1989	24	29	22	12	11	2	
	<b>17</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>[124]</b>
<b>Is moderate, avoids extreme positions.....</b>							
November 1989	25	24	27	13	7	4	
	<b>11</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>[125]</b>
<b>Too cautious, slow to act.....</b>							
January 1990	12	17	34	18	15	4	
November 1989	18	20	28	17	14	3	
	<b>12</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>[126]</b>
<b>Cares about and fights for the average person .....</b>							
November 1989	15	23	28	14	17	3	
	<b>26</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>[127]</b>
<b>Down-to-earth, relates well to people.....</b>							
November 1989	34	27	19	10	8	2	
	<b>35</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>[128]</b>
<b>Has policies that favor the wealthy.....</b>							

[129] [130]

29. I'm going to read you some things that might concern people about the political system and the way it works. For each one I mention, please tell me how much it bothers you personally--a lot, some, or not much at all. (READ EACH ITEM AND REPEAT CHOICES. MAKE SURE TO ROTATE ORDER OF ITEMS ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)

	<u>A Lot</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>Not Much At All</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
Officeholders who raise a lot of their campaign funds from special interest PACs or political action committees.	47	28	22	3	<b>[131]</b>
Millionaire candidates who use their own money to pay for their campaigns to get elected.....	25	22	51	2	<b>[132]</b>
Officeholders who raise most of their campaign funds from outside the state.....	38	30	29	3	<b>[133]</b>
Candidates who run negative campaigns criticizing their opponents.....	66	20	12	2	<b>[134]</b>
Officeholders who vote against pay raises but accept them anyway after they have passed..	58	25	15	2	<b>[135]</b>
Officeholders who personally take outside speaking fees from companies and special interest groups.....	43	30	24	3	<b>[136]</b>

**\*\*NOTE: Q.30a THROUGH 30e ARE EMBARGOED BY NBC.\*\***

**Getting to the end of our survey, the next few questions are on a totally different topic:**

30a. Are you a parent? (IF "YES," ASK:) Do you have any children under age 12?

Parent with children under age 12.....	2	ASK Q.30b.	<b>[137]</b>
	9		
Parent with children age 12 and over.	4	SKIP	
	4		
Not a parent.....	2	TO	
	5		
Not sure/refused.....	2	Q.30c.	

30b. Do you ever spank your child or children? (IF "YES," ASK:) Do you spank your child or children often, occasionally, rarely, or never?

<b><u>Yes, spank child</u></b>		
Often.....	2	<b>[138]</b>
Occasionally.....	2	
	9	
Rarely.....	3	
	5	
Never.....	9	
Not sure how often.....	1	
<b><u>No, do not spank child</u></b>	2	
	1	
<b><u>Not sure/refused</u></b>	3	

(ASK EVERYONE.)

30c. Do you think spanking is a good form of discipline for children, or not?

Yes.....	4	<b>[139]</b>
	8	
No.....	3	
	1	
Depends (VOL).....	1	
	8	
Not sure.....	3	

**[140] [141]**

30d. Were you spanked as a child? (IF, "YES," ASK:) Were you spanked often, occasionally, rarely, or never?

<b><u>Yes, spanked</u></b>		
Often.....	8	<b>[142]</b>
Occasionally.....	4	
	0	
Rarely.....	3	
	3	
Never.....	5	
Not sure how often.....	1	
<b><u>No, not spanked</u></b>	1	
	0	
<b><u>Not sure/refused</u></b>	3	

30e. Which of the following do you think is the best way to discipline a child? (READ LIST. ROTATE ORDER OF ITEMS.)

Spanking.....	8	<b>[143]</b>
Scolding.....	2	
Explaining and giving reasons.....	4	
	9	
Taking away or offering rewards.....	8	
Using time outs, sending children to their	1	



rooms.....	0
Grounding.....	1
	0
Other (VOL).....	4
Not sure.....	9

31. Finally, do you favor or oppose allowing female sports reporters to join male reporters in men's locker rooms after sporting events?

Favor.....	3	<b>[144]</b>
	0	
Oppose.....	6	
	1	
Not sure.....	9	

**[145] [146]**

**FACTUALS:** Now I am going to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only.

- F1. Did you happen to vote in the 1988 presidential election? (IF "YES," ASK:) For whom did you vote--George Bush, the Republican, or Michael Dukakis, the Democrat?

Didn't vote.....	9	<b>[147]</b>
Voted for George Bush.....	5	
	2	
Voted for Michael Dukakis.....	3	
	2	
Other candidate (VOL).....	1	
Too young (VOL).....	1	
Not sure.....	5	

- F2. In politics today, do you generally consider yourself to be very liberal, somewhat liberal, moderate, somewhat conservative, very conservative, or haven't you thought much about it?

Very liberal.....	7	<b>[148]</b>
Somewhat liberal.....	1	
	9	
Moderate.....	2	
	9	
Somewhat conservative.....	2	
	6	
Very conservative.....	8	
No thoughts.....	9	
Not sure.....	2	

- F3. What is the last grade you completed in school?

Grade school.....	2	<b>[149]</b>
Some high school.....	8	
High school graduate.....	3	
	2	
Some college, no degree.....	1	
	8	
Vocational training, 2-year college.....	1	
	0	
4-year college/Bachelor's degree.....	1	
	7	
Some postgraduate work, no degree.....	2	
2-3 years postgraduate work, Master's degree.....	8	
Doctoral degree/law degree.....	2	
Not sure.....	1	

- F4. How old are you? (IF REFUSED, ASK:) Well, can you tell me which age group you belong to? Are you in the age group 18 to 24, 25 to 29, 30 to 34, 35 to 39, 40 to 44, 45 to 49, 50 to 54, 55 to 59, 60 to 64, or 65 and over?

18-24.....	8	<b>[150]</b>
25-29.....	9	
30-34.....	1	

	3
35-39.....	1
	1
40-44.....	1
	2
45-49.....	8
50-54.....	7
55-59.....	7
60-64.....	7
65 and over.....	1
	7
Not sure/refused.....	1

F5. What type of work do you do? (WRITE JOB DESCRIPTION IN SPACE BELOW.)

JOB DESCRIPTION: \_\_\_\_\_

-----OFFICE USE

**[151]**

Professional/manager.....	2
	8
White collar worker.....	2
	3
Blue collar worker.....	1
	7
Farmer.....	1
Student.....	3
Homemaker.....	7
Retired.....	1
	8
Unemployed.....	2
Never worked/not sure.....	1

F6. Are you, or is any member of your household, a member of a labor union?

Labor union member.....	1	<b>[152]</b>
	3	
Labor union household.....	7	
Non-union household.....	7	
	7	
Not sure.....	3	

F7. What is your marital status--are you single and never married, married, separated, divorced, or widowed?

Single.....	1	<b>[153]</b>
	9	
Married.....	6	
	4	
Separated.....	2	
Divorced.....	7	
Widowed.....	7	
Not sure/refused.....	1	

F8. In what religion were you brought up?

Protestant.....	4	<b>[154]</b>
	7	
Catholic.....	2	
	8	
Jewish.....	2	
Other.....	1	
	9	
None.....	3	
Not sure/refused.....	1	

F9. Are you white, black, Hispanic, Asian, or something else?

White.....	8	<b>[155]</b>
	2	
Black.....	1	

	0
Hispanic.....	5
Asian.....	1
Other.....	1
Not sure/refused.....	1

F10. If you added together the yearly income of all the members of your family who were living at home last year, would the total be less than \$10,000, between \$10,000 and \$20,000, between \$20,000 and \$30,000, between \$30,000 and \$40,000, between \$40,000 and \$50,000, between \$50,000 and \$75,000, or would the total be more than that?

Less than \$10,000.....	7	<b>[156]</b>
Between \$10,000 and \$20,000.....	1	
	7	
Between \$20,000 and \$30,000.....	1	
	8	
Between \$30,000 and \$40,000.....	1	
	8	
Between \$40,000 and \$50,000.....	1	
	2	
Between \$50,000 and \$75,000.....	1	
	2	
More than \$75,000.....	8	
Not sure/refused.....	8	

F11. This survey is being conducted as part of continuing coverage of national issues by NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. A few reporters assigned to this story will be calling back a selected number of participants to get additional insights. Would you have any objection to being contacted?

Do not object.....	8	<b>[157]</b>
	2	
Object--do not call.....	1	
	8	

May we please have your name and the town in which you live for validation purposes?

RESPONDENT'S NAME:

Mr./Mrs./Ms./Miss \_\_\_\_\_  
(circle one)

Town: \_\_\_\_\_

**RECORD THE FOLLOWING--DO NOT ASK!**

TELEPHONE #: \_\_\_\_\_  
(Area Code)

**Length of Interview:**

10 minutes or less.....	1	<b>[158]</b>
11 to 15 minutes.....	3	
16 to 20 minutes.....	2	
	8	
21 to 25 minutes.....	3	
	3	
26 to 30 minutes.....	2	
	3	
31 to 35 minutes.....	9	
More than 35 minutes.....	3	

**Call Attempt:**

First call.....	9	<b>[159]</b>
	2	
Second call.....	6	
Third call.....	2	

Interview began:   :   a.m. p.m. Interview ended:   :   a.m. p.m.  
(circle) (circle)

**THIS IS A BONA FIDE INTERVIEW AND HAS BEEN OBTAINED**  
**ACCORDING TO MY AGREEMENT WITH HART-TEETER**

Interviewer's \_\_\_\_\_ Name \_\_\_\_\_ (PLEASE  
SIGN): ~~~~~  
Validated  
By: ~~~~~ Date: ~~~~~  
~~~